Wac

614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo[ng] Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
● [114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

1 [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; feather decorations are [301] used only festively; the special woman's horse- [302] tail coiffure is not used here any longer; cotton [755] is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[1]; one [614] of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; the [784] term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp. 19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

114 784 614 As Vatter says, there are taboos of a totemic sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 835 177 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics [836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to
614 the confusion that the ritual prayers at the animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1][See bibliography, cat.113--Analyst]

311 241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great economic problem.

● 114 124 159 634 He said that much of Arndt's[1][2] and other scholars' findings were wrong as they use Christian gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[1][2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 797 The town is notably modern in appearance, with the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field [485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a 622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel- 634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters [565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes 443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

443 night, was pitiful. There were six gambling
[525] tables in the pasar shed,[1] and that was all.
The Radja tried to get some dancers, but the
women had left for the kampong.

525 The priest, Mommersteeg, said that they all
gamble and that there is plenty of money used
here, although there are also many one sen
stakes. We went to bed in the terrible cold.

In the morning we went to Todabelu with Mom-
●114 mersteeg to meet Arndt.[2] We had met the latter
on the day before along the road. We saw an
old bearded man with a rain cape and umbrella
on a horse and asked if he knew where Arndt
was. He said that he was Arndt and that he had
ridden seven and one-half hours from Magilewa
near the south coast where he had gone for
Christmas. His parish is not there but on the
road to Boawai, off to one side. He was a
notable figure on the horse. We talked with
him about Ngada.

Arndt[2] says that there are no tribal units
614 called isi as van Staveren says.[2] There are
173 merely clans called voi. Then, inside these
611 units are bhou, or subclans. The big ancestor
was Djawa, who had seven sons and seven daughters.
The seven sons drop out, but the seven daughters
became the ancestral mothers of seven of the
great voi of Ngada, one of which is Ngada, and
this is the name of the ancestress. There are
a lot of other voi here too, each with a female
ancestor. I asked who the seven daughters
married, and he said this is unclear, but evi-
dently there were men on earth when the seven
were born. Thus it looks like an immigration
and intermarriage with aborigines. The bhou
614 have ancestral fathers, and thus they have a
611 system where the clans look a bit matrilineal
583 and the subclans a bit matrilineal, but the
whole descent is patrilineal unless there is no
bride price paid, when ambil anak occurs. Also,

[1] [i.e., at the night market --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We.

614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung.

624 824 796 The Manggarai name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a [533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We
614 arms set akimbo, but "some people" came and
778 broke them off. It stands on a rectangle of stones, a kind of mound. It is very impressive. It is located a little to the side of the path and in a rather inconspicuous place.

[773] The image Ine Amba (see the legend about this: it is a woman turned to stone with her child because she bathed naked) is located four kilometers off from Weol kampong in kampong Bangkavelo.

231 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 334,[1]
241 they certainly do not kill buffaloes in the
782 garden, but they do kill buffaloes in connec-
●114 tion with agricultural rites. They do this in the kampong. In the garden itself they kill only pigs and fowl and goats and dogs. These are indeed women's animals. So, to an extent, Coolhaas is right.

565 The term for commoners is ata leke. The term kraeng is used for all three levels of nobles.

114 In regard to what Coolhaas says on page 336,[1]
632 the people here still give tribute to the dalu
651 when he travels. They give wine, rice, fowls,
466 etc., if they have them. But if the dalu now
624 wants a new house he may no longer expect free
476 labor. Now he must pay for such service. If, however, there is need of a new tuan tanah house, labor is given without pay. And if there is a new house to be built for the tuan tanah besar, everyone in the gelarang helps. For the kampong tuan tanah, only the kampong helps, although other kampongs may assist in some way or other.

567 It is true that there were many slaves (mendi).
Their descendants are still known. It is also
565 true that new slaves were put in stocks (lam-
114 pang) until it was certain that they would not run away. It is also correct that slaves who had been in a family for a long time might even marry commoners. Indeed, they eventually reached

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 10 --Analyst]

We

567 a stage where they were taken into the clan of
565 the master. The slaves who were paid as a tax
114 (taki) to Bima in Reo were not longtime ones,
[651] but newly bought ones. This is because long standing slaves were used to the house and would not run away. If they were sold and then had to be replaced, this would mean breaking in new slaves. Most slaves were owned by nobles, but some rich commoners had them too.

567 The ata lampang, slaves of the sultan or
565 dalu who used to live in separate kampongs,
621 are now living in mixed kampongs, although there
114 is not much mixture. That is, other people have moved into their kampongs, and they also have moved into other kampongs. It is remembered, however, that they are descendants of slaves. In regard to what Coolhaas[1] says on page 346, he is right about the kind of slaves called se-kontu. They were directly under the kraengs of Todo and Pongkor, and had special duties. Their descendants are still numerous in their kampongs: Tengka, Levur, and Levat (i.e., these are the Rahong ones). There has not been much mixture. 2

567 The mangko' pitu are so called because they
565 are located in seven kampongs. The name means
651 seven cups or dishes. Their duties are to see
621 that rice, etc., are delivered if the kraeng of
114 Todo or Pongkor are on a trip, and also they must provide supplies for law cases on tour. Their kampongs are Tjera, Lerong, Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others. These are now mixed. These kampongs are not under either the dalu or gelarang, but are under the direct rule of Todo and Pongkor (until fifteen years ago). They are now assimilated just about to commoners, but they still remember their descent.

114 Coolhaas[1] is all right on page 348.
601 Coolhaas's[1] kin terms are O.K.:

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

601
114

ema father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband.
nde mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.
amang mother's brother, father's sister's husband.
inang father's sister, mother's brother's wife.
empo grandparent.
weta sister, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.
kae older brother; ase--younger brother. Also father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.
kesah father's sister's son, mother's brother's son.
wiña mother's brother's daughter, wife.
rona father's sister's son, husband.

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Coolhaas[1] is all right on cross-cousin marriage, too. Only one of a set of brothers marries a mother's brother's daughter. Other brothers may not do so. In this event it can be any of the brothers, not only the eldest. But it is essential that one must and the others must not. However, if another brother wants to after one brother has, he must pay a horse in addition to the usual bride price. This is probably for a common man, and the extra price may be expected to be higher for a noble. This is done only if the father of the boy is unwilling to let him be adopted by another. The latter is another means to the same end. Thus, if the second brother wants to marry a mother's brother's daughter too, the father can let him be adopted by another man. However, the latter must be of another panga. Then the bride price is kept at the usual size.

114
582

Note an error in Coolhaas on page 348? Two

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

114 582 [632] 114 582 614 brothers may not marry two sisters, as this is very much taboo. A man may marry two sisters, however. They agreed that Coolhaas on marriage rules of the dalu seems correct. As for the folk, the rules indicate preferred clans, but they say this is not too strong. Thus the rule is that Weol men get wives from Manges, a va'u and gelarang in the dalu Velak, to the west, although not very far. It is about a one day walk from here. However, this is not by any means the method followed at all times, and actually only about twenty-five per cent of the women married in here are from Manges (Manges is now called Regak). These were originally from Lelak or Relak, which is a neighboring gelarang to Weol. Thus it looks like a clan localized in district terms with marriage rules between clan-districts as in Wouden style. The women of Weol usually marry men of Tjepang, the clan which used to live in Weol also, when it was a two-clan kampong, but who now have moved down to Tjanjar. However, Tjepang is the name of a kampong just to the west, also in the Velak area. It looks as though the fact that Tjepang [166] men married Weol women led to more and more Tjepang men coming to live in Weol, until it finally became half Tjepang. (Even now the Ruteng folk who have houses in kampong Ndung are mainly, if not all, men who have married Ndung women, and the latter have gardens here and so the men must come to live in their wives' kampong.) I must get the marriage rules of Ndung.

582 614 583 Men of Manges may not marry women of Weol. And men of Weol may not marry women of Tjepang. Thus it goes that Weol gives women to Tjepang, but gets women from Manges. However, Tjepang gives women to Lalong, and another clan gives women to Manges. Bride exchange is taboo, which 582 is in line with the mother's brother's daughter rule.

[See bibliography, cat. n3--Analyst]

582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas[1] [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351)[1] are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

114 Wac
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. IIB--Analyst]

524 In the afternoon on the alun-alun in Ruteng we saw a bamboo-clapping game. Two parallel bamboos were placed on the ground, and squatting behind them, facing each other, were two pairs of women. Each pair held two bamboos in their hands. These bamboos were placed athwart the lying bamboos. In unison they banged the bamboos three times against the sticks which were lying down, and on the fourth beat clapped them together, sliding them across on the sticks. Then the girl tried to hopscotch between the moving bamboos so that her ankles would not get caught on the clapping together of the long horizontal bamboos. The clapping went faster and faster--one, two, three, four --until she got caught. A man tried it too, and then some others. This is unique [actually [171] rather widespread in southeast Asia, for example, in Hainan, Philippines, Indo-China]. The mandur said they usually do this in moonlight with long rows of clappers, and with several pairs, male and female, doing the hopscotch stuff. They also have this in Larantuka and Ende.

824 Teno does not mean tanah, the latter being the same in Manggarai. Teno means the kind of wood used for the lodok post. Hence, tu'a teno.

342 531 237 [171] On the house ridge of the tuan tanah of Ndung between the wooden buffalo horns is a human head of wood. Could this be related to the Toradja use of human heads berween horns, and also connected with the horn headdresses of the dancers and whippers here? The horns are used only on the houses of the tuan tanah. On other houses different decorations are used. The horns indicate that there is a drum located in the house on which they are placed.

● 114 Notes from Mennes (Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XX, 1931; (1), 384-390): ^

^ [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

123 the Wailolong folk were suspicious. They said,
609 "Who are these guys? Can it be that now that Holland is going out we are going to be taken over by the United States and that they are the advance agents of American imperialism?" He has explained to them that we are interested only in adat, etc., and they are now contented.

We discussed a certain rank which appears in
614 the record. It is nu'a luka. There must be
343 one of these, a woman, for every kepala suku
562 and kelake (except, as in the case of kepala
243 suku and kelake, when the same woman is both nu'a luka suku and nu'a luka ama). As Roy puts it, every "barn" (that is, an adat barn, for there are many ordinary barns) must have not only a kelake but also a nu'a luka. These women do two things:

(1) Pass out rice seeds to the planters.

(2) Pass out rice to the workers after cooking. They were often the wives of the kepala suku and kelake.

We also noted a possible error in Vatter.[1]
[114] He has (I think) only one tuno wudjo. There
614 are as many tuno wudjo as there are kepala suku
796 and kelake and nu'a luka. That is, each "barn"
831 must have one. These were formerly young vir-
784 gins, but now with so few young girls still
241 pagan, they are either (1) old women still re-
[857] maining pagan or (2) very young girls, almost
[887] babies, who are as yet unChristianized. (Ironic
[797] note: The Catholics have destroyed the one "virgin trait" in the old culture by not letting them have little girls for tuno wudjo.) (I remember how impressed Roy was when I indicated the parallel between Mary and the virgin tuno wudjo.) These tuno wudjo are evidently posts held for life, or at least as long as they remain pagan. They function at the rites each year, and for the whole growing season they cannot eat sacrificial animal meat (pig and

1 [See bibliography, cat 113 -- Analyst]

Wa

000 of and pride in the legends and old things. One
621 further matter I asked about was from my notes. He said it is true that there were five po. They called the po (meaning "radja's army") suku lema ("5"). They were Waibalun, Balela, Lewolere, Larantuka, and Labao. Lewerang was absorbed, but it is still a place name near Larantuka town. Lokea was the radja's own kampong. Lohayong was the radja kedua's kampong. All this seemed to me a bit vague, and he has clearly forgotten much of this. He went on to say that aside from the Radja, there were indeed three "big kepala": of Balela, Larantuka, and Waibalun (thus three of the po are accounted for). The kepala of Larantuka is Meo Fernandez, a descendant of people coming from Malaya. Thus this bit of information about the Malaya folk gets a bit tied. But the whole thing is not clear to me. Maybe I can work something out
● [114] from the sources, but I notice that Wouden, who cites all of this, is also vague, and complains about the inadequate source material.[2]

Roy said that in addition to the five po there were seven riang in Larantuka town: Ponsiri, Pantei Besar, Kota Riang Wido, Tabali, Gege, Kampong Tengah, and Kota Sau.

There were thus, in Larantuka town (or district perhaps?): seven riang, five po, Lokea, and Lewohayong.

This is the best I can do. Perhaps this includes all the communities in the area in front of the mountain ("Muka Gunung"). And behind the mountain are the eight kampongs of the area, under the kakang of Mudakaputu. Roy said there are either ten or eleven kakang in the Larantuka radjadom. I can check this from Seegeler.[3]

I left Larantuka on Friday, January 20, and after a day's run I got to Ende. I didn't stop, but wondered if perhaps they have a rumah berhala in most of the Lio kampongs.

[1 i.e., Roy, the assistant -- Analyst]
[2 See p. 87 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]; [3 i.e. former Controleur -- Analyst]

R

●114 Roworeke: I started on the last two days, January 21 and 22, and went to work on the schedule.

797 Fifty years ago there were no Christians here at all. In 1922, and the kapitan says that it was in October or November, the Catholics entered. They cannot remember who the first convert was. At first acceptance was very slow (and this may be linked with the wars against the Dutch), but there was no strong resistance. These folk took it, they say. But I note that there are plenty of pagans even today.

771 The assistant says that this area is about
162 sixty per cent Christian. All have been in contact with Christianity, as even the pagans have relatives who are Christians. There are also relations with Mohammedanism, as there are many Mohammedans near here, although few in this kampong. There are no troubles with any religion.

875 There are two school teachers in Watu Roga,
797 and two religious teachers. The school build-
[658] ing belongs to the mission, but the government pays the costs and the salaries of the teachers. Perhaps it is a mere subsidy. There are no real troubles in regard to religion in school, partly because the teachers do not propagandize much, and partly because the people seem not to worry about religion. In fact, they kept on saying that I, as an educated man, might fuss over points of religion, but they knew so little that they would not know if they were being propagandized. Thus, I suspect that the gurus do not ever attack paganism directly, as this might cause trouble. Instead, they just slide in the Christian belief as though it were normal.

They have no trouble with Mohammedan teachers, as there is only one such in the whole Ende area. He is the son of the big kapitan Nggobe. The

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797 tial rites require pigs, but here other animals
782 can be used.

Three religions are known: pagan, Catholic,
771 and Mohammedan. They know little except about the pagan religion, which they probably know better than the others!

771 I asked about the religion here as given in
• 114 my notes from Elbert[1] who was here in the pre-Catholic period. They said that my notes were all right, including the god names, and that
[775] Mt. Iya was the deadland, etc. In fact, I see more and more that Elbert was a good man. The
[776] high god, however, they give the name Ngga'eh Dewa. They say there is no dualism, i.e., no earth mother, here. This doesn't quite jibe with Elbert, but maybe they have forgotten, or they are vague about this. Maybe they are always vague about such stuff as regards the high gods.

778 The tubu musu, indeed, has two stones, and
831 after hesitation they admitted that it is a male-female symbol. I note that in his Lio dictionary, Arndt[1] says (I think tubu) has an "obscene" significance with reference to "male." Thus it seems clearly a sex symbol. They never heard of yoni. They seem to say that there are two stones, one lying and another standing. Like a fool, I did not check this. I will have to look in Elbert[1] and Suchtelen[1] for this.
[789] They have the matakau, and it is called nabe.
776 The term Ngga'eh Dewa means the god above. I guess that ngga'eh means big or high. They say that ata ngga'eh nua means "pembesar kampong."

764 At death, the bodies were formerly placed in big trees, cocooned. This was true for big men. For about a month they were left there while a feast was prepared. When all the animals and other things were ready, the bundle was brought down from the tree and bones cleaned. Then they

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes. [622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual [554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big atá ngga'eh núa (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

● 114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very 123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words [212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could [515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 The last trick of the assistant was to ask 123 for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona. 103 I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

[1 [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
[2 See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

114 The island is fascinating for pure ethnography, as I always expected. I am tempted every time I look at the map to take time off and go into those far hills. The entire northwest half of 491 Flores has no roads except for the Reo-Ruteng one, and here would be good territory. The 793 priests know a lot, and really should be mobilized for an ethnographic survey. And many of them, for example Mommersteeg,[1] would like it. 103 The kapitan insists that the proper name is 114 Tanah Djea, and indeed this is a town to the north of Nangapanda. Maybe the old authors confused dj with r.[1] [pastor at Todabelu --Analyst]

As for Wolowai, which Wouden[2] (check his source and track this down!) says is reported to be matrilineal, there is a place to the north of Nangapanda in the hills (thus in Tanah Rea part of Ende shown on the Bruine[3] map) so named. This is Wolowai and it is in Ende. I wouldn't be surprised to find any kind of social R organization in this island! What a place to do 614 a real survey. I asked about a few other things 582 in Roworeke. I made a final try to get a circulating scheme out of the suku here, knowing that they have mother's brother's daughter marriage. I thought I had something when the assistant started off saying that an Odja man should take a Gusa woman, and that a Rewarangga suku man should take a Wanda woman. But right away it broke down, as the assistant himself, an Odja, married a Wanda, and his son will marry a Wanda, he says, in line with mother's brother's daughter marriage. Also, Bapa Ketjil, an Odja, married a Rewarangga. So what? He seemed to think that perhaps once it went like this:

Men	married	Women
Odja		Gusa
Gusa		Some other
Some other		Odja

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

R

	Men	married	Women
614	Djawa		Some other
582	Rewarangga		Wanda
	Wanda		Some other

At all crucial points, he doesn't know! But he does say that once it was not allowed to marry in the suku. And he also says that a daughter must not marry into her father's suku (and yet I am sure there are some cases), while a son by preference should marry into his mother's suku. He also says that if once one marries into a suku, the sons should continue this custom. This is why he says his son should marry into his wife's suku. Thus clearly we have mother's brother's daughter preference, and father's sister's daughter taboo. And they seem to have some memory of a regular circulating scheme so based. However, the system has broken down, and so has the exogamy to some extent (but my guess is that the records will show few if any endogamous marriages). The trouble is, I had no time to ask or rather have him investigate how many of the present marriages of men are with women of their mother's suku. I will try to do a little detective work from the records. Because of the Hebrew "bin" [551] system of names, I may be able to spot father and son. Anyway, I may be able to see whether there is any pattern to the suku marriage choices of the men.

• 114 I pulled out of Ende for the last time on January 21, and had a difficult time getting across the Nangaba, which is still in flood. With pushing, I made it. The motor stalled on me, as it is filty. It was a long day across to Ruteng, but I had no further trouble.

We Weol: I started the last stretch of a week 124 here on January 23, on Tuesday. I went to the

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565 men. He will fill these in. So far as I can see, all the "locals" of Weol are noted as "bangsawan." I must discuss this. The same thing happened in Roworeke. Evidently there is no real nobility in these places, only the eldest-son lineage, which takes the high office. Maybe Linton is right in his hunch regarding the basis of Malayo-Polynesian social organization, that is, primogeniture. This checks with all the talk about the kuasa tinggi [high power] of the older branch, the kaka and adi stuff, etc. As for totems, the key for Weol (he uses the local totem names) is:

[114]

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rutung	porcupine
kenti	a leafy vegetable
kula	a kind of big mouse
atju	dog
lusa	red bean
giro	a kind of firewood (no burning totem).

All of these are merely the main totems, but there are others. Thus Weol clan has the lusa, but also the thin bamboo taboo.

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583 4. I must ask whether the men who have come to live matrilocally did so because they didn't pay the bride price. He says that this is mostly the case, but not always. He says that he will have to ask this carefully, as he can't ask men directly because they are ashamed if they have not paid the bride price. He must ask others, "Why does so and so live here with his wife?" Then the dirt will come out. These men are Nos. 40, 110, 116, 122, 123, 127, and 132. All of this led to a discussion of the situation.

217 The pagans do not have any registry of marriages. The Catholics do not have to register marriages with the government (thus no marriage

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 ●114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt denies, but that Staveren says is found in Ngada above the voi there). 685 On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

½ [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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601 I then got onto the kinship system, which
[114] Coolhaas gave only in partial form. It is a real mother's brother's daughter system, and quite perfect.

[104] Note: From now on I will use the V rather than the W of the Dutch and the German to show the V sound as it is. Thus Veol, not Weol. I wonder if the Larantuka W as in Wailolong should be V or whether it is really a bilabial. It is probably the latter, but there is no question but that the V in Veol is as it should be.

father	ema
father's brother	ema
father's brother's wife	ende
father's sister	inang
father's sister's husband	amang
mother	ende
mother's brother	amang
mother's brother's wife	inang
mother's sister	ende
mother's sister's husband	ema
brother	kae (older), ase (younger)(man speaking); nara (woman speaking).
sister	veta (man speaking); kae--ase (woman speaking).
brother's daughter	anak; nana (vocative) vote (woman speaking)
brother's son	anak; nana (vocative) (man speaking); to'a (woman speaking)
sister's daughter	to'a (man speaking); anak; enu (vocative) (woman speaking).
sister's son	koa (man speaking); anak; enu (vocative) (woman speaking).

601 Manggarai: I remembered in relation to the opu belake and opu wai(ng) which Oudehand[1] said were woman-giving and woman-receiving groups (man speaking) for Larantuka, that Cornelius said that the woman-giving group is ana rona and the woman-receiving group is ana vina (man speaking) in Manggarai. This checks out, as the belake and rona are comparable and the wai(ng) (or wae or kawaing, meaning wife) and vina are comparable. In Manggarai the term for the woman-giving group has a male connotation, as in Larantuka, and the woman-receiving group's term has a female connotation in both instances. The Manggarai terms are taken from the words for husband (father's sister's son) and wife (mother's brother's daughter), respectively, with ana (child) put in. Since rona and vina have the meaning of male and female, the ana rona and ana vina could mean "sons" and "daughters." However, this all seems complicated. Anyway, the Larantuka terms for the two groups are taken from the words for mother's brother and father-in-law and "female" respectively. The general idea seems clear, but there is a difference in the exact meanings.

[114] 533 797 We I got onto the last two days of work in Veol on January 29 and 30. On the evening of the former, Sunday, van Bekkum[2] had the school put on a singing demonstration for me, and it was remarkable. The songs were Manggarai, written by Manggarai gurus, and they are like Debussy, but with weird progressions and peculiar slides and part-notes. The voices are fine and very impressive in the failing light, with the hills around, and especially good were the single, sweet, girls' voices in solo form from time to time. This is very rich material. The boys stood on one side, led by three lads with ornate headcloths and sarongs; and the girls stood on the other side. The whole thing was good. The

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [pastor at Ruteng --Analyst]

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527 the gardens are all set and growing. The date
574 is uncertain. Each panga must contribute one
241 pig. At the New Year ceremony they dance,
sing, pray, etc. And from what I saw in Anam,
[273] they drink plenty. The main feast is held in
the central kampong of the va'u, but there is
no set order as to where the successive feasts
are held in order.

(2) There are many garden rites: for a new lodok, for a new clearing, for planting, for the first weeding, if there are many mice, and for harvest. The last mentioned is the biggest. Note that the ceremony for the mice is
● [114] not the regular pantomime one described by Coolhaas.[1] This is not held here, but only in East Manggarai.

There is no rice mother here.

231 For the garden rites they usually sacrifice
527 pigs and fowls. A buffalo is sacrificed at
782 the rite for the new lodok, but it is killed
241 in the kampong at the tjompang (the animal is tied to the tree, and thus there is a clear relation between this and the peo of Nageh and the ngadu of Ngada; and note that both of these are forked as though they were cut-off trees; I saw this clearly in Anam, where a tjompang tree had had branches cut and it looked like a rudimentary peo! and note that the buffalo is tied here at the tree as at the peo or at the ngadu). Usually, only one buffalo is killed, and the buffalo is only for a new, main, round garden, i.e., a lingko randang.

242 This raised an interesting point that with
311 the need for rotation of gardens a new lingko randang must be planted every two years, because the soil becomes exhausted and must then lie fallow. At this time beasts graze there and fatten the land with manure. But here in Veol land is now lacking, and they must use the lingko randang and other lingko constantly, which is

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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124 sistant, Cornelius, was fine. I left him a stamped envelope and paper to get information on the bride price and mother's brother's daughter marriage frequency.

• 114 124 Van Bekkum[1] showed me a great volume typed before the war by an assistant of his on Manggarai marriage customs. It was only two-thirds done, and he needs another year to complete it. It is all planned out and indexed. It is monumental and should be translated and published. Van Bekkum says that only Cornelius could do the book. He also went on a several months field trip for the mission to Pulau Island, off the Maumere coast, where there was said to have been an aboriginal population. He has a manuscript on the buffalo sacrifice there.

He is a remarkable fellow and importuned me only a little for palm wine and tobacco for the old men.

574 123 [273] The last day we went along to the near end of the road, to kampong Anam, one of the dalu kampongs. Here there were plenty of kraeng with hangovers, and some still a bit drunk. This is a very large kampong, with perhaps a population of six hundred. There is a tjompang in it and several tuan tanah. At the tjompang, which had stones newly and nicely arranged, were sticks stuck with wood chips on them with rice and bits of other types of food, offered at the New Year feast. I was invited into the main tuan tanah house, and there I sat with lots of men in a circle, on mats and on mat cushions. Women played fine drum and gong music, and men sang fine sanda songs, with solos and choruses. [782] Hanging on the rafter near the center was the main naga bamboo food shelf, and in each family section along the walls were similar ones. Food was placed on them. The house was rectan- [342] gular (there are no more tuan tanah houses in

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng --Analyst]

342 this area which are round, because the rectan-
574 gular ones last longer and the people like
123 them on this account, because all of them must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat), and the palm beer, which was milky and strong. I took photographs of them and they were amazed.

342 This is a new kampong, and is merely named
[103] six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses, but all of them with partly wooden walls. The assistant says that there are still a fair number of the real old style round houses with no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house,
592 where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh from the garden, and also some corn cooked by steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc. He is a real host, and his old father talked some. I took photographs of the family, including his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor. Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and he said something about how this is quite usual for a wife's sisters to live with her.

● 114 Finally we pulled out of Ruteng in the morning on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

[487] Going down the mountains I noticed that the
567 land was largely empty. The road led through the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo. They were sold especially for firearms. Many Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia, because so many slaves were exported. Thus there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-

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114 han, which had no mandur or kitchen or bed. I
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634 set up a camp bed with the help of the Radja of Kolaka (who was waiting[1] for a Makassar ship with his family after six months banishment in Ruteng by the Dutch) and his assistant. I then went to the dalu's house where Degens worked for awhile. Then I had lunch with the dalu, a sullen young man, whose still living grandfather is the last radja naib of Reo.

F
634 The dalu was bitter about the Radja of
565 Manggarai. He says that he should be radja,
632 but that the mission put in a Catholic. He
578 says that next to him the proper royal house is Tjibal, which is descended from Daeng Tamema of Reo. The proper royal house is not Todo, because Todo was under Bima only, and the Radja is only a dalu subordinate. He also said that his territory was very small, because the Catholics do not like Mohammedans, nor did the Dutch. Only he, the dalu of Pota, and the dalu of a couple of other coastal places are Mohammedan here. He told me a long story about the past, and why his line is the right one. He also said that the Do Donggo are descendants of Manggarai slaves in Sumbawa. He said that Reo, being Mohammedan, was not favored by the schools. In general, he is quite sore.

C
634 The Radja is a good man, and fed me. He told
565 me a lot about the Celebes radjas returning now
648 to Celebes after exile by the Dutch. He doesn't want to go back to Kolaka, because he said one would get "bodo" if one stayed there. He is traveling on government expense. He will seek an office job in Makassar. Kolaka and Kendari (Laiwui) are under Luwu.

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505 On the last morning, part of the plaster wall fell down, and I am glad to be getting away. After watching the loading of animals all day at the beach, I got onto a float with the jeep (first loading of a car ever to take place in

[1][i.e., in Reo --Analyst]